222 Several vegetable foods were identified
262 from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul is used to cover all green plant foods, but is also specifically applied to all clovers, to yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yɨt ṭomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard greens were cooked, and today bacon is added. Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage. A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but unidentified, was valued for its seeds which were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-purple flowers, ka´syɨn, has tiny edible seeds which are greatly prized; they are rolled into a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu, Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty roots which were roasted and eaten whole or mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower (oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
278 were many others which must have been well
● 757 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu, translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
[177] the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains. The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, although M.G. claimed that they did not use it ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly man who did this became delirious for a day or two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after the skin about the fracture had been scarified. Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder when his clavicle was broken. Another man at Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he was badly injured by being thrown from a horse. Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A. Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called snake's-urine (ya´hɨn ṭuyu´hun). Bird's-eye (a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ɨn tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-penis (po´tolo kai´´iyɨn). Two kinds of "wire grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
278 a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk when mashed and which "had no flowers," was boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites; it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

412 322 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached. A slender pestle of stone was used with it. [438] These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

323 Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[46] Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay [134] was sometimes shaped with the fingers into little dishes (ṭipe´k·l ki´wis). It was chiefly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest. [757] A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that [438] pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

285 438 No detailed description of basketmaking techniques was obtained from the Chunut and Tachi informants, but both had important statements concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

285 In the collections of the University of California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

[46] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of [249] Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal'a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the [757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever [757] they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly de-
616 scribed several familiar games.

The hand game (wehala´nwːca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´ːš) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

526 Shinny (ko´nwːč) was played only after a
616 mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Hutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
778 it and warned her to keep away from it. He said a big sickness (tau'mui) like consumption or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

751 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
266 of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not afraid of graves or of dead people. When they opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Kshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
754 were usually killed when someone had courage to do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure, merely said that this was so, and that her own grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

752

● 757 Headache: de'ltal. This was cured by sucking blood (pai'yam:t) from the forehead just between the eyes.

[753] Nose bleed: tomo'luna. This was due to a long hair of a dead person which a ghost inserted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto'kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho'sowona. This was usually not treated unless very severe. The roots of a hard-wood shrub (atsai'y:n ho'pal) were boiled and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

[P. 346]

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No'hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

753 Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 683 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko't·ts, who lived down at Tule River Reservation.[87] She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice. J.A. has seen her cure.

754 755 752 756 A black scorpion bit Tsomoi'yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukot·ts was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna'ha la na we·ta'
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye'wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta' puku'lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi''in or He''iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

[P. 399]

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

787 276 The decoction was made by the leader or one responsible for the affair. He had special songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao'du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often [756] appeared as microcosms which they picked off the invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi'yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

757 276 Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

[752] As an example, J.A. described the use of jimsonweed on Lu'tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

For fractures the skin was scarified all around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was used in the valley as it was in the foothills, i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood recalled a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi čɨk, who handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid (sic). There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le 'alawa, the handling, dai 'was or tatla 'wes.

The Bear Dance was made by the people of the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Buksammi in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´tw‹l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.---F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.---Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wes) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sap) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi´se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.---Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called y‹´aka, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.---Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´ñiš (M. 292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´'ats) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

293 In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills 237 (po') surrounded with quail crests.

Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´n:t). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint.--Three colors of paint were used by 302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´y:n, J.B., M.L.; red color, paći´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin- [177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chohun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.

428 [764] Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. [437] Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

● 757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choiniami, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

757 278 eyelids or to the rectum when irritated by diarrhea.

Ša''apeš roots were used for a sore mouth; they were mashed and held in the mouth. If a baby had a sore mouth, it was attributed to the mother's having eaten yellowjacket larvae (an extension of the meat tabu, because yellowjackets eat meat). To cure the infant, dried yellowjacket larvae were pounded up with ša'apeš and the baby's mouth swabbed out with the mixture.

Pineapple weed (Matricaria suavolens) was made into a tea and drunk for fever or cramps, and was a favorite remedy of old people, said M.P., who showed me the plant but could not give the native name for it.

Taka'ti, a small, sour, round red berry which grows on a low bush, was mashed and eaten uncooked as a purgative.

To'pino, a root, was mashed and clenched between the teeth for severe toothache.

Ka'watopa had a yellow flower (possibly yarrow). Its roots were "strong" and, mashed, were also used for toothache. Tired feet were soaked in a decoction of the boiled roots.

Ta'mːk was cooked and put on the abdomen as a poultice for intestinal pains.

Te·semui'sa (a Chamaenerion ?) looks like a willow leaf, grows in river bottoms. The leaves were chewed for pleasure; they were bitter at first, then turned sweet. To discourage coughing one chewed a leaf and then drank a swallow of water.

Lipːt has a big leaf, is a low bush with white blossoms. Only the roots were used which, when boiled, turned red. The resulting drink was strong, "tastes like pepper." A cupful was drunk three times a day when one "ached all over."

CRAFTS AND MANUFACTURES

Pottery

323 Pottery was made and used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi Yokuts of the Central Foothills. The complete process of manufacture has been previously described.[196] The important points are these. The clay was selected on the basis of the amount of natural sand temper which it carried. First dried and pulverized, it was wetted again and pounded thoroughly while wet to increase its viscosity. Pots were built up by the coiling process which proceeded in a clockwise direction. After thorough drying by sunlight, the pots were heated by the fireside. Firing was done in a pit in which oak bark and oak wood had been burning for several hours and lasted from twenty-four to forty-eight hours. While still hot, the pots were coated inside and out with

[196] Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

276 inder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

[757] The cake tobacco (šogən) was eaten in minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or [189] broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

[517] A group of men would gather at one house about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´wiš) and pestle (pa´'lwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lawi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

[226] The shell used for the lime constituent was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was called či´'u, the whole thing "when alive," [421] ka´'upič. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

Pipes.---A cigarette of cane (ka´dkid) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

[P. 1039] Wukchumni

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The [757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yɛt no´mčɨn, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po´ñoi nɔmčɨn, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not [551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi´ti lonu´wɨs) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

[805 177]

[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ta'ati (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni''udi (another) was added; thus, ni''udi komo'dːs (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a'hːt (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no'či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta'naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tamːk were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with 431 them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

[P. 110 b] Wukchumni.

787 776 825 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted to show he had power through Cougar would wear the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.---"The little yellow deer (ija haj·t) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.---If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.---The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.---Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 778 All shamans had a collection of talismans, which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like plain people; there was no special disposal. [764] [237] An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ṭ·pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and [753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

[P. 111 a] Wukchumni

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress
535 regalia as when dancing: feather headdress,
292 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt,
237 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer
755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him.
522 It was the privilege of anyone who wished or dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826]
[435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

[P. 1196] Wukchumni

796 276 787 754 It was said that an evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would try to render the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

796 276 On the twelfth day after the ritual a general celebration took place. The children dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

796 584 864 This little feast provided an occasion for betrothal if any families cared to take advantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything, and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 ● 757 [262] Jimsonweed was well known as an anaesthetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere [752] anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anŝi's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

around" before falling unconscious. Some persons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week, but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limʻn) diet for twelve days.

Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

The chief set the date for this ceremony (luni ˇša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (giˑˇ1) which, for the Kechayi, was always the Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were giˑˇ1 for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (taˇowʻč anoˇša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Guguˇsia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čukuˇya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M. could not or would not describe this coherently. The reticence may have been due to the fact

Medicines

278 824 757 Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American [177] medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

[752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono[1]." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not strike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 183 a] Chuckchansi

278 824 757 area was covered with dry wormweed which was then fired. Mike Wyatt once had rheumatism in his shoulder. His relatives made a bowl of this medicine, applied it to his shoulder, and lighted it. They did this several times, whenever the pain came; then it was cured.[96]

Hunting

224 Mice were trapped between flat stones by propping the upper stone on an upright stick resting on an acorn. Inferentially, these traps were set out at night. In the morning the owner went out, collected his quarry, then threw them on the coals to cook just as they were. A little mouse made just two mouthfuls, said J.R. Only mice were caught this way.

Tree squirrels were shot with arrows or captured by trained dogs.

Ground squirrels were drowned out of their holes in wintertime by digging drains to run water into their runways. When an animal emerged, it was struck on the head. J.R. many times helped his father at this, which was a common resort in winter when food was scarce.

To obtain deer, drives were organized by several men in a community. At a deer drive each man knew his position and the territory he had to cover. The usual method was to drive "around a mountain" [probably a large hill] in circular formation. As the men were closing in they shot any deer that came within range. Of those encircled, they killed all they could, although some invariably escaped. "What they shoot, never gets away. They die pretty quick. I have seen them shoot with the bow and arrow, you know. They die quicker than with the bullet. When they shoot the deer, you know, he gets sick and dies, just a little way off." So said J.R.

Up at Wowo·na (Miwok territory) the deer-drivers deployed around a mountain which had a flat rock on top and one precipitous side. They pressed the deer up the mountain until they were forced to huddle or jump off. Those that did not destroy themselves by leaping were shot.

In the evening as much of the game as possible was packed home. Often this method netted more meat than could conveniently be carried. Hence some carcasses were left overnight, hung head down by the hind legs, in trees. In the morning the hunters would return to skin them.

224 482 A man could carry one deer by means of a tumpline. The animal was skinned, all save the legs from foot to knee [and the entrails removed?]. The legs were tied together and the carcass packed on the back. The blood was

[96] An elderly white man told me of his own experience. He propped his rheumatic leg near a hot stove; he fell asleep and woke to find his leg painfully burned and blistered. However, the rheumatism was not felt thereafter.--A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 246b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 796 276

taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

W Y 757 752

Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

Once Pao'ič broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

W Y 796 276

At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

W Y [438]

The jimsonweed plants (tañá ñibᵘ) was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki'leš and Koti'diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

[191] B.O. said it grew plentifully at Tuláo, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 This last practice was an entire deception. The tube used was about six inches in length and had a hole in the center about three-fourths of an inch in diameter. It was sometimes made of stone but was often made of a hollow elder limb.

The cut was made on the body of the patient at a point where the pain was most severe. A small object, sometimes the tail of a lizard which would still twitch, a small piece of arrow point or a thing of like nature was concealed in the hand or mouth of the medicine man.

The medicine man placed his mouth at the end of the tube and by sucking caused the blood to flow from the cut quite freely. When this was accomplished, the tube was removed and the bloody tail or arrow point exhibited as the article which was causing the pain.

278 But all of this practice was a last resource. The Yokuts
757 Indians along the Kaweah river still gather and trade and barter among themselves plants, roots, and herbs. These are used for every conceivable human ill, including rheumatism, cold in the chest, sore throat, coughing, nose bleed, and countless others. One of the common plants used as a medicine was eaten in such quantities as to be classed as a common article of food. This was the wild sweet, or purple, clover.

The writer has seen in one Wukchumne camp no less than twenty wild foodstuffs and home remedies, all of which were used at various times throughout the year.

The following incomplete list of food and medicinal plants used by the Wukchumne Yokuts will indicate how extensive was this practice and will also point out to those informed in practical medicine how well the curative qualities of the various plants was understood by these primitive people.

278 Buckeye.....*Top'-pong.* Fruit ground, leached, and eaten.
192 Blackberry.....*Mah'-min.* Dried in cake form.
Brodiaea, Golden.....*Chang'-ke.* Bulbs eaten.
Brodiaea, Minor.....*Hawt-naw'-we.* Bulb eaten.
Clover, sweet.....*Che-tot.* Eaten raw, with salt from salt grass.
Cherry, bitter.....*Shup.*
Fern, Common.....*Loy-yo.* Root used for medicine.
Fern, Brittle.....Used as medicine by Dunlap Indians but name not known.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name.

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake.

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things.

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world.

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer.

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race.

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day.

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my poša; if he'd bitten any other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote).

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28]

The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as; the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul-

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

5: Gayton E-5 (19[illegible]7) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Y 171 323 184

The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

Y 823 757 323

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the fingernail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers[10] but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Y 172

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenck as late intrusions.[11] These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Y W 171

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

[10] As the Pomo are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.
[11] Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55–56, 1926.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

> She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called meta aftawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyemal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."
>
> If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[42] See anecdote, p. 397.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no'-eh.	pūng'-o-eh.	poan'-oikh.
Three.	so'-pin.	so-o'-pin.	so-o'-pin.
Four.	ha'-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih'.	ha-to-poan'-oikh.
Five.	yit'-sen-it.	yi-tsing'-ut.	yi-tsin'-et.
Six.	cha'-lip-eh.	chu'-di-peh.	tso'-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm'-chil.	noam'-chin.	noam'-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas'.	mu'-nūsh.	mu'-nus.
Nine.	se'-po-noat.	no'-nip.	so'-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi'-oh.	ti'-i-hoh.	ti'-i-hoh.

On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days of the week. They are these: Wu-lo'-a, Po'-ni-o, So'-pi-o, Hots'-po, Ya'-ti-so, Chol'-po, Hu-lo'-sa.

Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. Unlike the Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *kaï'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *kaï'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintūn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-